PROSPECTUS

Rinth Bolume of Abe Hational Gra. Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR: JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR

The National Era is an uncompromising or ponent of Slavery and the Slave power; an a vocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, whether under the direction of priests or laymen; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight, and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics, and rejects the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can deliberately violate his own settled conviction of its meaning, without incursettled conviction of its meaning, without incur-ring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to

commit injustice, without immorality.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent sys-tem of measures; that the Whig and Democratic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the issues raised by the Slave Interest, but being held in thrall by it, so far from present-ing any resistance to its exactions, afford facil-ities for enforcing them; and that one or both ities for enforcing them; and that one or both must be broken up, and the true friends of Lib erty be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necesprejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the over-throw of the Slave Power. It, therefore, gives its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy has yet been developed—a movement which promises to effect such a union.

The National Era, while occupying a deci-

The National Era, while occupying a deci-ded position in Politics, has amply provided in its Literary Miscellany and News Department for the various wants of the Family. Careful abstracts of Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign, are given every week in its columns; during the sessions of Congress, special attention is devoted to its movements; and it has secured the services of some of the most distinguished literary writers of the country. The Ninth Volume will commence on the 1st

of January ensuing. Subscriptions should be G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.

November, 1854.

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## FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

NEVER GIVE UP!

Since we suspended this paper, last year, we have had several calls for it, and for such door uments as it would have contained. We have therefore concluded to resume its publication changing its form to royal octavo, the size and form of Congressional documents, so that may be bound into a neat, convenient volume.

The last volume was devoted chiefly to a
compilation of old Southern documents conte than for general reading. The plan for the new volume will be modified, so as to embrace matter, specially adapted to the present con dition of our cause, and yet worthy of pres

The Anti-Slavery Movement will be its lead Such a publication, cheap, convenient, and suitable for extensive circulation and distribu-tion, is particularly needed at the present time when old party organizations are shattered and when the Anti-Slavery Sentiment, although

pervading the public mind, needs a well-defined, general organization, and a clear, ration al method, to secure it due weight at the ballot box and in legislation. To quicken this Senti-ment, and to aid in giving it a form and method adapted to the exigency, will be the two-fold object of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE. 'FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE" will be issued the

first week of every month, in royal octavo form, 16 pages, composed chiefly of such papers from the National Era as shall be peculiarly suitable for general distribution. It will be sent only in clubs, at the following rates per annum, twelve numbers constituting a volume: Six copies to one address -Fourteen copies to one address

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The postage is a trifle—only half a cent number, or six cents a year, paid in advance at the office where the paper is received.

Any person or club, by raising \$6, may in this way furnish monthly Anti-Slavery reading for a whole year, to half a hundred persons and is not this the very time to indoctrinate the

masses, who have been cut loose from old or-ganizations, with Anti-Slavery principles? Ev-ery individual has his field of labor. A good plan would be for a few persons, earnest in the cause, to unite, agree upon an efficient plan for supplying their town, district, or county, and then send in their orders accordingly.

What say our friends? Will they take hold

of the project, and make it go? Can they think of any cheaper, easier, and more effective plan of operations just now?

As we intend to begin the 1st day of May

canvassing, we trust all interested in the mat-ter will see the necessity of prompt action.

IMPORTING VEGETABLES .- It is not a great many years since Connecticut used to supply the West India Islands with onions and other kinds of vegetables; but now the tide has turn ed, and a stream of vegetables is pouring in upon us from the West Indies and all other parts of the world. We are certainly getting to be great eaters. With the finest soil and the best climate in the world for all kinds of vegetable productions, we are importing from foreign countries the articles that ought to be in our own gardens. Bermuda supproduced in our own gardens. Dermuda sup-plies us with early potatoes and tomatoes; and it seems that the British Provinces at the East of us are supplying us with eggs, which are now imported duty free under the Reciprocity treaty. Twelve hundred and sixty dozen of Nova Scotia eggs were entered at the Custom-House in Boston on one day this week. We import enormous quantities of dried prunes from France, a kind of fruit that grows abundantly Eastern and Middle States; we impor figs from Smyrna, which might as well be grown in North Carolina; grapes from Spain, which can be raised in Virginia; nuts from Madeirs, which may be raised in New York; and olives, which might be produced in abundance in nearly all of the Southern States. As for eggs, the value of which is so much greater when they can be warranted fresh, we should hardly think that it could be profitable to import them from abroad. Peaches we are able to raise in as great quantities as we can consume; but we shall not be surprised next to hear of a cargo of this delicious fruit being imported from some neighboring country. Potahear of a cargo of this delicious fruit being imported from some neighboring country. Potatoes are brought to us from France, Germany, and England, and a cargo of turnips was lately brought to us from Scotland. It is about time that we began to develop our agricultural resources.—N. Y. Times.

The New York Courier says a physician in large practice was asked by a stranger if New York was healthy at the present time. He replied: "Unusually so; the extravagant cost of provisions has checked the disposition for overfeeding, from which ordinarily we derive most of our practice."

The Post was a stanch supporter of the Democratic party, when it fairly and honestly represented the questions it held to be of paramount consideration. Those questions have been for the most part settled—at all events, superseded by the great issues of the Slavery a circular, warning American sailors.

TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. WEITNEY is our authorized canvassing agent for

#### WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1865.

We are grateful to our friends for bear ng in mind the circular addressed to them some time since. Unfortunately, Massachusetts, Con necticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the States which deserted us mos extensively, are yet backward. Still, judging from our correspondence, reaction, in most quarters, has commenced.

JUNE NUMBER OF FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE The second number of Facts for the People

will be mailed to subscribers this week. It contents are as follows: The Signs of the Times—The Duty. Nationality—Conservatism—Ignoring

The Past-The Present-The Future-Re rganization of the Independent Democracy. State Sovereignty and Personal Rights. Kansas—Nullification, Civil War. The Petty Tyranny of the Slave Power.

Let orders be sent in promptly. The edition f the first number is large enough to secur complete files to all who wish them.

# THE NEXT PRESIDENT-THE PROGRESS OF

"The National Era of this week has a lor "The National Era of this week has a long and elaborate article on the present state of parties, in which it reproves the Evening Post for having spoken kindly of the position which General Houston occupies in regard to the question of Slavery, and construes what we said into a declaration in his favor as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States in the next election."—New York Evening Post.

We are not aware that we reproved the Post n the article alluded to: this was not our purpose. As one public journalist, differing from another on what seemed an important question, we frankly expressed our dissent, without in tending to censure anybody.

The Post expresses surprise that we should interpret its articles on General Houston, as recommending him for the Presidency, or implying a purpose to sustain him for that office. What is praiseworthy in his political course." it says, "what is liberal in his political sentiments, we hope we may see and commend without being suspected of a desire to make him President." In all that the Post says of the propriety of discriminative praise and censure, of commending in public men what is commendable, and condemning what is blameworthy, without regard to section or party, we most cordially concur; and we accept the Post's disclaimer of an intention to bring forth or recommend General Houston as a fit candidate for the Presidency. But, we must be pardoned, if, like many others, we were led astray by the language of that paper. "It is hard," said the Post, last March, "to name another who has not so thoroughly identified himself with one party or the other, in the late Slavery controversies, as to have parted with the advanbelongs only to a neutral: to one who can do what the people wish done upon that or any other subject, not only without reluctance, but cheerfully, and with a conviction that it is best. General Houston, we believe, has left the impression upon the country that he occupies such neutral position, and that he has no political partialities or prejudices which he could not country." Having thus singled out the General as occupying almost alone this advantageous position of neutrality, it added: "the North will require nothing more of a future candidate,

dency, than this attitude of neutrality; it will never again be content with less." This seemed to us equivalent to saying that e was about the only one who could be supported for the Presidency-certainly that his osition would be satisfactory to the North. Some time subsequently, recurring to the subject, the same idea was presented in an edtorial, alluding to the General as a candidate for the Presidency, and specifying his peculiar

as regards the Slavery question, for the Presi-

"But the chief recommendation of the Gen-"But the chief recommendation of the General, in our view, is his announcement of a common-sense policy on the Slavery question—a policy which is truly National—and the only one on which the people of this country, North and South, can permanently unite—the policy of toleration. No man is more exempt from Abolition affinities than he; no man better represents individually the average Southern no-tions of the rightfulness of Slavery, as was he under the necessity of clearing up his posi-tion to satisfy either section. All the conces-sion that he has made to the North, if concession it may be called, is, that under his Admir stration the Executive Department shall no be diverted from its legitimate business, to serve the propagandists of Slavery. A more striking illustration of the liberality of the North, considering the aggression, which they have suffered, could not be produced, than the fact that they are content with an implied assurance of this kind."

If, in construing such remarks, repeated so emphatically, into a declaration in favor of General Houston as a candidate for the Presidency, the only candidate on whom North and South could unite, we erred, the editors of the Post, on re-examining their language, will, we are sure, think the error quite natural.

But, to leave this point, we have a word of two to say on "organization." Our friends of the Post remark :

"Of political organizations we make far less account than the National Era. We regard them as springing naturally from the state of public sentiment; our duty is to aid in forming that sentiment rightly, assured that when once a strong conviction of any kind has taken pos-session of the minds of the people, they will in some way express it in the elections."

We presume there is no difference of opin

ion between us as to the power of "Organization." Mayors, Members of Congress, Presidents, are elected by organization. It is an instrument social beings cannot dispense with. Under a system of free thought and free suffrage, great questions will give rise to differences of opinion, and opinion, to be effective in legislation or administration, must operate through organization. Practical men, who have opinions which they deem of paramount importance, will hardly content themselves with talking them, while they leave others to form or strengthen organizations against them. Theorists, dilletanti declaimers, crying out, "Great is Truth, and it shall prevail," will confine themselves to talk, glad to shun the responsibilities of action. But the editors of the Post believe in the application of theory to practice. Abstractions need organization to give them body and life. What would Democratic ideas of finance and trade have been worth, if not embodied in legislation and administration-and how could they have been

The Post was a stanch supp-

so embodied, unless through the machinery of

accident? Is there a Right, is there a Wrong, involved in it? Is there not a true, is there not a false, way of dealing with it? Are we to satisfy ourselves with theorizing, with promulgating what we regard as Truth and Right, while we abstain from all attempts to give them practical power through organization-in full view, too, of the fact, that Falsehood and Wrong are already embodied and organized against us? The walls of Jericho fell before the blowing of rams' horns, but Jericho is without a parallel. Sound in these days may herald, but not achieve, a revolution. If we cannot infuse right ideas on the Slavery Question into existing organizations, we must form a new one before we can inaugurate them in power. Patient waiting on Providence may be pious, but not always profitable. God helps those who help themselves. Drifting with the current of events is an easy operation, but in the long run not a safe one: there may be Surely, the Post will not assume that Pub-

lic Sentiment is never misrepresented by Or gauizations - that they may not succeed suppressing "a strong conviction" of the People, Did those which controlled the Baltimore Conventions of 1852, fully represent the state of public sentiment," or "the strong conviction" of a majority of the Northern Whigs and Democrats, in relation to the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Acts? Does the Know Nothing Organization, or the Democratic Party, as it now exists, represent the deep feeling of the People aroused against Slavery by the Nebraska outrage? The Post and the Era both believe that the great majority of the People of the Free States attach more import ance to the Slavery Question, than any other How happens it that there is no general organ ization to give expression to this pervading sentiment? Because papers and public men that sympathize with the People in this conviction, content themselves with blowing rams horns; with discussions and objurgations thorough and eloquent to be sure, but still only atmospheric vibrations. They will not take the lead in proposing a well-defined, wise, pow erful organization, through which Popular Sentiment may be felt as a substance. While they are talking and writing, the working politicians, who cling to the Administration Democ racy, or seek power through Know Nothingism. are laboring to perfect Organizations which shall thrust aside the Slavery Issue, and shut out the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the Masses from all access to the Federal Councils. These men act, those talk: one class diverts Public Sentiment into a false channel; the other drifts with the sentiment thus diverted. "For our own part," says the Post, "we prefer to drift along the stream of events, intent rather on co-operating to form a sound public opinion," &c. And was it not precisely this drifting "on the stream of events" that bore the Post in 1852 into the support of Gen. Pierce, to whom we owe the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the civil war in Kansas?

"The National Era," say our friends, "is ccupied with the project of reorganizing the Independent Democratic Party-a task which may impose upon it a narrower policy than we tion, on the single issue raised by the passage think proper to pursue." The Post sees as of the Nebraska bill. The State Convention old elements of Compromise and Pro-Slavery Nationality are gradually becoming reorganized-that the Administration Democracy, and the Hunker portion of the Whig Party allied to the Nativists, under the form of Know Nothingism, will have their respective candidates in the field in 1856, representing the policy of resenting the North and West. It is conten "to drift on this stream of events:" we are not, and as we can discover no indication of a purpose to counteract such combinations, we are driven to the project of reorganizing the Anti-Slavery voters, who have again and again offered open battle to the Slave Power. We do not intend to let the election go by default. We do not intend to suffer the Slave Interest to achieve an uncontested triumph. We do not intend that the Cause of Freedom and Free Labor shall be left without witnesses. We do not intend, on the plea of choosing between evils-of doing, in the circumstances, the best that can be done-to be drawn into the support of Parties seeking Federal Power by base concessions to a base Sectional Interest. This Question of Slavery, in ts Federal relations, must be settled, before any other great Question can be wisely adjustd, before the country can have peace, order. and security against the hazards of civil wartherefore, every Party that aims at National Power by thrusting it aside, quibbling about it, gnoring it, or pandering to the Slavery Propaganda, should be denounced and renounced a unworthy the suffrages of a free People.

This may be "a narrow policy;" but had it been adopted by the voters of the free States in 1848, and steadily adhered to, Nullification and Rebellion, under the lead of a United States Senator, countenanced by a powerful member of the Cabinet, would not now be staring us in the face. It is not vet too late to adopt this "narrow policy." A well-devised political campaign may avert the hazards of civil war. The right use of the ballot-box for the correction of great evils, is the true way to prevent resort to the cartridge-box.

### VIRGINIA ELECTION.

The Know Nothings are terribly disappoint at the result of the election in Virginia, having calculated on sweeping the State by immens majorities.

Mr. Wise, the Administration candidate the Governorship, in 116 counties receives a majority of 8,400. Twenty-eight counties remain to be heard from, but the returns will not diminish his majority. At first, the canvass was full of encouragement to the Know Nothings, as many Democrats were acting with them, but more recently it assumed the appearance of a contest between Democrats and Whigs, the latter simply designating themselves by a new name.

Of the twelve Congressmen elect, eleven are Democrats. The intelligence from the 12th district is yet uncertain.

As to the State Legislature, so far, the Ad ninistration Party has gained 15 and lost 13. It is too soon to reason at large upon the consequences of this election. That it will greatly facilitate the reorganization of the socalled Democracy, in both sections of the country, and that it will not check the efforts now on foot to nationalize the Know Nothings, and prepare them for a Presidential canvass, appears to us quite certain. Beyond this we do not "speculate."

HAVANA.-The Empire City arrived at New The San Jacinto was to leave Havana on the

24th. The steamer Fulton and sloop-of-war Cyane were at that port. General Concha has returned from his jour-

Question. Is this Question to be settled by 13th OF JULY PEOPLE'S STATE CONVENTION. on its own merits. Why should not the line To the Friends of Freedom in Ohio:

At a meeting of the Republican State Central Committee, appointed by the Anti-Nebraska Convention which assembled in Columbus on the 13th of July, 1854, it was resolved, in com-pliance with the public voice, that a Republican State Convention, to be composed of Delegates chosen by the Independent and Anti-Nebraska voters of Ohio, who participated in the glorious triumph of last year, and such others as may sympathize with them, be called to meet in the city of Columbus on Friday, the 13th of July 1855, for the purpose of nominating candidate for the following offices, to wit: Governor, Lieu tenant Governor, Auditor of State, Treasurer State, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Member of the Board of Public Works, and two dges of the Supreme Court.

In compliance with the usual rule of repre-entation adopted in State Conventions, it was sentation adopted in State Conventions, it was resolved that the ratio of representation in the Convention to assemble on the 13th of July next, should be one delegate for every five hun dred votes cast in each county at the last elec-tion for Judge of the Supreme Court, and also one additional Delegate for every fractional vote so cast exceeding two hundred and fifty. It is recommended by the Committee, that the

meet at the usual place of holding County Con-ventions, on Saturday, the 7th of July, for the purpose of choosing delegates, according to the above apportionment, to represent them in the State Convention to be held on the 13th. When it is considered that, in addition to the officers for the Executive Departments of the State Government, there is to be chosen a General Assembly, upon which will devolve the du-ty of selecting a U. S. Senator, to fill the place of Hon. B. F. Wade, whose term expires in 1857, of Hon. B. F. Wade, whose term expires in 1857, and before which will come many measures of reform in the domestic policy of our State, the importance of the approaching election will be comprehended by our reflecting fellow-citizens. If the outrage upon the rights of the Free States, by the repeal of the Missouri restriction, made it a duty last year to bury all minor differences in a united effort to arrest the progress of the Slave Power, how much stronger has that duty become by the more recent exhibition of

duty become by the more recent exhibition of fraud and violence at the Kansas elections, and the denial of the rights of citizenship and the ssession of property to free citizens of Mis-uri and Kansas? The day of "compromises" has gone by. We therefore appeal to our fellow-citizens to be active and vigilant. Send up a egation to the 13th of July Convention that which assembled last year, impressed with the magnitude of their mission, representing the dignity of the State and the will of their contuents, and assuredly success will again crown

A. P. Stone, Chairman. L. G. VAN SLYKE, Secretary. We publish, in full, the call for a State Con ention in Ohio. The Committee, appointed by the Anti-Nebraska State Convention held last year, assumes the name, "Republican, and calls a " Republican" State Convention The delegates are to be, the Anti-Nebraska voters who aided in revolutionizing the State

Political affairs in Ohio are in a confused adition. The Democratic party, notwithstanding the defeat it sustained last year, retained its machinery, and is now in the field, prepared for action. The Whig and Demo cratic parties, without formally disbanding, sur rendered their organization, and united with such Democrats as would act with them, in a common movement against the Administragave expression to this issue, selected candi dates to represent that movement, and appoint ed a Central Committee to call a similar Convention this year. This was the initiation, but not organization, of a new party. Since then, there has been no re-appearance, in a distinct form, of either Whigs or Independent Demo-crats. As a matter of fact, their respective organizations have ceased to exist, without being substituted by one clearly representing the

ommon movement in which they engaged. In this interregnum, as we may call it, the Know Nothing Order, reputed to be favorable to the Anti-Nebraska sentiment, availed itself of the absence of any competitor, and by its skilful machinery, obtained to a great extent the control of the opposition forces in the State. The majority of the Whigs united with it, and, at first, a large portion of the Independent Democrats, their press, either deceived or intimidated, maintaining a studied silence on the subject. At last, they discovered their error, and at present the great body of those who were Independent Democrats together with their journals, with two or three exceptions, stand aloof from the Order, and

But the Whigs, to a great extent, we appre hend, adhere; and the Whig papers, all of whom we believe, sympathize with it, claim that it is thoroughly Anti-Nebraska, and affords the most effective agency for carrying out the purposes of the People's movement, begun

Now, as there is no such thing as a Repub lican, a Whig, or an Independent Democratic party, and as but two well-organized parties exist in the State, the Pro-Nebraska Administration Democracy, and the Know Nothings, professing Anti-Nebraska sentiments, it is easy to see what advantages the latter must have in the election of delegates to the Convention to be held on the 13th of July, the call being addressed to the Anti-Nebraska voters of last

year, and such as may sympathize with them. We suppose that they will elect a majority of the delegates, and the danger is that the Convention may be used chiefly to subserve the peculiar designs of the Secret Order. If, to nake sure of the adhesion of the real inde endent Anti-Nebraska voters outside, they agree to nominate Mr. Chase for the Governor ship, we may expect that they will take good care to place him on such a ticket, that, should success follow, it may be claimed and used a

Know Nothing triumph. We know not what the People, who, in break ng loose from Whigery in an open form, did not dream of being bound again by Whigery and Nativism in a secret form, intend to do in the premises; but we do hope that there will be enough delegates in the Convention to relieve the Anti-Nebraska movement in Ohio of all responsibility for Know Nothingism, of any kind of subservience to its plans or purposes. Can they do this, but by introlucing a test, which shall reveal the real purposes of the majority of the Convention-forexample, a resolution, disapproving of all atempts to control the movements of the People through secret, oath-bound, political associatioas, and deprecating every effort to mix up the issues raised by the Slave Power, with any other question?

We neither dictate nor dogmatize; but, as an Anti-Slavery man, speaking freely to Anti-Slavery men, we have a right to express our views on subjects in which we have an equal interest. The nomination of Mr. Chase, an Anti-Know Nothing, on a ticket, embracing distinct representatives of the Know Nothing Order, by a Convention, a majority of whos delegates consists of Know Nothings, will not give to the movement, or ticket, its character or name. The ticket and movement will both bear the stamp of their parentage; the nomination of Mr. Chase will be regarded merely as a constrained concession to secure outsiders; throng of thousands who came forth was in part the success of the movement will be hailed as composed of liberal Know Nothings, who would trine of toleration. The Massachusetts Know Russia is for Protection—Turkey, swallowed the mountain became undistinguishable. Nothings, who would be mountain became undistinguishable.

be drawn at the Ohio Convention of the 13th July? When will there be a more auspicious time? When will there be a better leader for a Popular Movement, on the naked Anti-Nebraska issue, without corrupt alliances, than Slave-State Councils will be represented by Mr. Chase? Should the meeting of that Convention result in a. Movement, so clear, so honest, so beneficent, our hopes of a Union of the sented at all,) by delegates subservient to Sla People for Liberty, a Party of Freedom, in

1856, would revive. Ohio would lead the

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS is corresponding editor. It gives forth no uncertain sould. It sees tunately, they have the name, without the organization. Let it be the business of the Convention to supply this want, so that under whatever name, (although we confess our strong preference for the older and more distinctive one,) they may henceforth be able to act in

concert and with power:

"Now, our position is simply this: that we shall have a Republican Convention, a Republican nomination, without surrender, without compromise. Nor do we think such a policy either difficult or dangerous. Let the people in their primary meetings elect Republicans as delegates to the county conventions. They know who are Republicans and who are not; but if the Know Nothings should avail themselves of their superior corrections. selves of their superior organization, out-vote them, and elect members of the Order, let the Republicans organize by themselves, and send Republicans. Let the county conventions pursue the same policy. Let them exclude no man merely for the reason that he has been a Know Nothing, if he do not now adhere to the Order In this way we shall have at Columbus delegates who will constitute a Republican Convention.

If the Know Nothings, however, have a majority in that now intended to be a Republican convention, let the Republicans withdraw, organize by themselves, and make a Republican nomination; send out an address to the people, sta-ting the facts and causes which led to it, and such nominations will be sustained by as large a majority as they were in 1854.
"It is to be understood, we labor for

manent principles, not for the unworthy pu pose of turning certain men out of office, or of putting certain men into office. Whenever the Republican party shall compromise its principles, shall bargain with 'Know Nothings' 'Sag Nichts,' 'Locofocos,' or any other party, its history will have been written; and it will take its place with the Whig and Democratic parties, beyond the reach of political resurrec-

"The men who led the Whig party to grave, now seek to guide the Republican party in the same path. We therefore say, frankly we can follow no such leaders. If they wi last year, and "such others as may sympathize stand by the principles on which we associated last year, when there was not a Know Nothing in the State, we shall gladly—aye, joyfully, faithfully, actively—stand with them. If they change, and go into a compromise, a political bargain with Know Nothings, we must separate.

"The times call for men of thought and in fluence to stand forth in plain, unmistakable

language. Let every lover of Liberty speak frankly and act boldly, with kindness but with irmness. We do not think, with some worthy friends, that if the Convention at Columbus should be ruled by Know Nothings, we ought to assume the name of 'Inden think it better to stand fast and immovable or our present position, holding our present name. The Republicans who came from the Whig and mocratic parties, the foreigners of our State, and the Republicans of other States, have claims upon us. They all demand that we shall

remain firm in our present position.

"The nomination of any adhering Know Nothing by the State Covention will show that it is to be so far a Know Nothing Convention. When that shall be ascertained, whether they go into a nomination or afterwards, let our friends withdraw, and give us Republican can didates, and the people will elect them.
"But this will be unnecessary, if those pro-

fessing to the Republicans now speak out frank-ly. Instead of urging union and harmony, let us say, fearlessly, that we maintain our organization as it was constituted. We make no com promises. We will encourage no bargains with any other political organization. Above all. we say, let those presses who have been and now profess to be supporters of Liberty entertain no unworthy fears nor apprehensions. Let them be active and vigilant, bold and fearless, yet kind and inoffensive, speaking out their views as becomes intelligent, independent freemen. Let the friends of humanity in every town be active, firm, and uncompromising in the sup-port of Republican delegates. Let the Conven-tion be guided by the same principles, and our nominations will be satisfactory to at least three fourths of the electors of our State, and Ohio will stand where she ought to stand, in the vanguard of freedom.

Let these views be carried out, and the work of organization for 1856 will have been commenced. The really "independent Anti-Ne braska voters," will no longer be left in the anomalous position they have held for the last year, constrained to choose between a Secret Order, whose principles and policy they con demn, and Pierce Democracy, or, to do nothing. They can there fight under their own standards, on their own principles, for their own candidates, consistently, manfully, successfully.

There are reports that the Pro-Slavery party has carried all its candidates at the special election on the 22d inst., ordered by Governor Reeder. Very likely. We presume it well attended to by Atchison & Co. Streams of emigrants, it is said, continue

flow into the Territory, chiefly from the free

States. Barbarians will scarcely be able to resist the advancing tide of Civilization. The latest exploit of the barbarians is th waching of Mr. Phillips, the law partne McCrea. See particulars in another place. We much mistake the quality of some of th energetic men settling in the Territory, if such

outrages can be repeated long with impunity. THE TOLERANCE OF SLAVERY .-- Assuredly the most reasonable people in the world are the friends and champions of Slavery. Give them their own way in all things, permit them to cherish and diffuse Slavery, offer no resistance when they usurp all power and authority, crouch before them when they are disposed to bluster and bully, and they are as lenient masters over

telligencer, May 29th: " Order Partially Restored .- All accoun concur, says the St. Louis Intelligencer, in announcing the complete triumph of common sense and law in Western Missouri and Kansas. The Independence Messenger, a conservative paper, noticing a Pro-Slavery meeting recently held at the court-house, says:

"'It was a very calm and orderly affair, and

you as masters well can be. Witness, for instance

the following, which we find in the National Is

Capt. Gill's narration of the expedition against the Yankees who robbed Col. Kirby of his squat the Yankees who robbed Con Range produced the ter's claim in Kansas Territory produced the greatest mirth in the large assembly. After this, a string of resolutions were introduced by a committee selected for that purpose, and all passed as a matter of course, no one either opposing or voting against them. We could not support that part of the resolutions which breathe a 'higher law' atmosphere, as our motto is, 'let the laws rule, and not men.'"

Washington on Saturday evening last; but the Party." The same remark applies

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF KNOW NOTHINGS. This Council, soon to meet in Philadelphi will be composed of delegates from the severe State Councils, each State, we believe, having an equal voice with every other. The fifteen

pro-slavery delegates-New Jersey, Pennsylvs nia, and New York, (with California, if reprevery. These alone, to say nothing of doubtful delegation from Indiana, will give the Slavery faction an overwhelming majority, and it is not probable that the delegates from Mascolumns of the Ashtabula Sentifiel, of which sachusetts and New Hampshire will find much backing anywhere.

No Presidential nomination, it is said, wil clearly and urges boldly what cught to be be made; a Know Nothing paper in Tennesse done. In its issue of May 17th, hat veteran announces that the National Nominating Co in the ranks of Freedom, in an abre article on vention will be held at Memphis, next spring the subject of the Convention, this explicitly defines his position. It will be seen that he Convention will meet for the purpose of prespeaks of the Republicans, as a Party; unforparing the way for a successful nomination, b agreeing upon a common ground for National action. This ground we suppose to be, the policy of ignoring the Question of Slavery The National Council that met in Cincinn some months ago, resolved upon this, as we learn from the American Organ, but the presumption is, that it simply recommended adoption by the State Councils, and that the

> of the platform of the Party. That the National Council at Cincinnati su nitted the ignoring policy to the State Councils, with a view to obtain their assent to it, we nfer further from the fact, that they have lately held simultaneous meetings, at which the ques tion was under consideration, and that the res olutions of the New Hampshire Council, the only series published by authority, appear i the light of a response to a call made upon i The closing resolve, for example, is as follows "Resolved, That any attempt to commit the American Party of New Hampshire to the ad-vancement of the interest of Slavery, to ignore it as a political question, or to enjoin silenc upon us in regard to its evils and encroach

National Council, about to be held, will assem

ble to ratify and settle it, as an essential part

The June Convention will then agree the policy to be pursued by the National Know Nothing Party, and that policy will be, to in nore the Question of Slavery. All the dele gates from the South, and many, if not a majority, from the Free States, are in favor of this disposition of the subject.

and unqualified disapprobation.

ents, deserves and shall receive our earnes

The question arises, what course will th Anti-Slavery delegates adopt in such an event? Will they tell us? Will they communicate to their friends their purpose? Have they any purpose at all? One year before the Whir National Convention was held in 1848, while the Nationals in both sections were preparing the way for the nomination of a non-committa candidate for the Presidency, and the adoption of the ignoring policy, we criticised the course of the Boston Whig, then the able exponent of the Anti-Slavery Whigs of Massachusetts and desired to know what it intended to do should such a policy and such a nomination be agreed to. It answered promptly and expli-

"Neither will we sustain any man or men who are not clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally, pledged to carry out the of the Wilmot Proviso, in all cases of acquired by the United States. If General Taylor be nominated the cand

date of the Whig Party, at a Convention pledged to sustain the system here pointed out, (the stoppage of the war, the application of the Wilmot Proviso, and the discouragement of Slavery,) we shall be contented to give him what support we can. If not, Massachusetts Whigs, after passing the resolutions of the last

The Convention did nominate General Taylor-did not "pledge itself to sustain the system here pointed out "-on the contrary, it ignored the whole question of Slavery-and the Boston Whig, with Palfrey, Adams, Allen, Wilson, and Phillips, true to their previous avowals, would not sustain General Taylor, or the Whigs who supported him, but co-operated in the forma tion of the Free Democratic Party.

Political transactions were then carried openly-honest men openly avowed their purposes-the Convention was open-integrity and self-respect were braced up by public responsibility. The People knew what, men were pledged to maintain, and they could see how far the pledges were executed. There was no chance for double-dealing, compromise, evasion, or deceptive reports.

We are sure General Wilson will agree with We are sure General Wilson will agree with of its interior management, we did not dream us, in deploring the secrecy which veils the proceedings and purposes of the State Council of his Order in Massachusetts, and the secrecy that will give impunity, in the National Council about to meet, to bad faith, disloyalty, treachery, compromise, tergiversation. He, as an honest man, would like to be able to announce to the Public, the demand he is authorized to make on the Convention, the course of action he intends to pursue, should it be rejected, and he would like to have the consistency of his conduct subjected to public scrutiny. He, as an experienced man, understands well, how the half-hearted, the time-serving, the disloyal, who can hardly be held to their duty, even under the eye of their constituents, will rejoice in the darkness that shall relieve them of an irksome accountability.

We again ask-for we are anxious that those of our friends, who seem disposed to confide implicitly in Know Nothing professions, may have their attention drawn to the inquiry-to what are the Councils in New Hampshire and Massachusetts committed? They have adopted Anti-Slavery resolves, it is said. Aye, but those resolves, as published, do not pledge them against association or action with a National Know Nothing Party, ignoring the question of Slavery. Mark that! Examine the Masse

"Resolved, That while the American pa of Massachusetts fully recognises the right of the States to regulate their own domestic af-fairs, we claim, and shall under all circum-stances exercise, the right to relieve the Federal Government from all connection with, and responsibility for, the existence of the sectional institution of Slavery.

"Resolved, That we discountenance all at-

tempts to stifle the freedom of discussion and the freedom of action upon all the great moral questions of the age, and will resist any at-tempt to exclude from our ranks any person, on account of his opinions upon such ques-The American Party of Massachusetts rec

ognises the right of the States to regulate

heir own institutions-all right, but perfectly consistent with the ignoring policy. It claims the right, and will exercise it, to seek to relieve the Federal Government of all connection tion with, and responsibility for, the existence of Slavery-all right, but still perfectly consistent with acquiescence in the ignoring policy, as proposed by the National Organization; for the resolve is a declaration by the Ameri can Party in Massachusetts, on its own behalf, and contains no implication that identity of views on this point is demanded as a condition to co-operation with the "American Party" of any other State, or the National "American

"on account of his opinions upon such ques- 4. England and France may attain ". tions"-be they Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery. What has this to do with the policy pro- sia as a counterpoise." posed to be adopted by the National Council The outward policy of Russia may

as the basis of a National Party—the policy of med up briefly as follows: Suppression ignoring in National Conventions, in the Na- olutionary Movements : Maintenance of tional creed, in the National nominations, and macy; Supremacy of Position in Euro all National Administrations, the Question of Asia : Territorial Aggrandizement by Slavery? Should this be agreed upon by the macy and Conquest. Can the Tribe National Council, will the New Hampshire this? Is there a chapter of Russian and Massachusetts State Councils continue since the era of Peter the Great, while to act or in any way affiliate with the Or- not confirm the truth of our representations der? Have their delegates instructions to In its whole career, what scheme withdraw in such an event? Have they in- ward" policy has it devised, what "outset structions to insist upon the recognition of a act has it done, to humanize any portion

single Anti-Slavery principle or sentiment? Family of Man? Have they instructions to declare, that no As to what it has done to degrade Presidential candidate shall receive the sup- slave Humanity, let Poland, the Holy A port of those for whom they act, who is not Hungary, Italy, Turkey, and the ind oledged against the extension of Slavery, or mountaineers of the Caucasus, bear wit even the admission of any slave States formed out of the Territory north of 36° 30'?

Can any one answer? All is in the dark, ical as her Administration is now, did a The National Council may meet-may agree member Poland; did sympathize with that it is best to say and do nothing about the gary; did not aid or abet the subjugar Question of Slavery, pro or con., the party not Italy; has not, at least since the time of being instituted for the purpose of settling it- leon Bonaparte, engaged in any war may prepare the way for the nomination of a liberal opinions or movements; has not Presidential candidate, non-committal like to maintain Legitimacy or Absolutis that policy-and yet there may be no division, been anxious to maintain the independent no schism; the Party in the different States | the various Sovereignties of Europe. may go on, taking the hue in its State action in her immense commerce, she has acte of the prevailing opinion of the State, deceiv- great Civilizer. These States, now amount ing the People, neutralizing the Anti-Slavery first Powers of Christendom, were on sentiment, keeping up the division among An- nies, the offspring of her "outward p ti-Slavery men, until at last its organized which has further shown its humanizing weight be thrown in favor of a Houston or a tion in the establishment of the Canada Fillmore for the Presidency.

We have been charged with captiousness- of institutions in the Continent of Aust with an indisposition to do full justice to It is easy to say that in all these Anti-Slavery Know Nothings. We are con- she has been actuated by self-interest cerned, not captious. We have done full jus- likely-Governments are not phila tice to Auti-Slavery Know Nothings-but we agencies-the Government of Englan have ceased to take any man on trust. When less is controlled by a paramount regard; Anti-Slavery Know Nothings will tell us ex- interest of England, but, in pursuing t plicitly what they demand, as an indispensable | terest, it has adopted an "outward po condition to their co-operation nationally with which, on the whole, has been huma their Order, and what they intend to do, if the its tendencies. demand be not complied with, we shall have the What the Tribune says in favor of R means for forming a fair judgment of their the ground of its having rejected Free position on the Slavery Question. When the will not find many supporters. English National Council shall have acted, if they will Trade has not blighted this country. state frankly and fully the manner in which their | puzzle the farmer to comprehend how he demand was met, the world will be prepared jured by England admitting his breadstul to judge whether the course they may have de- her ports, duty free; and our manufact cided upon be in accordance with their previous will have to study a long time to under declarations. No man, whatever his antece- how the market for their wares is to be be dents, has a right, on entering into a Secret ed, by the closure of the ports of Russia Association, under extra-judicial oaths, with a Turkey against them. It would be a g

## THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE AND THE EAST-

and impeccable.

The New York Tribune is displeased with our criticism of its course in relation to the Eastern war.

"The National Era," it says, "is astonished that the Tribune should not go for the Allies in the Eastern war, and considers our position dictate to the world. No danger from anomalous, friends as we are to Freedom and growth of an Empire, which commands No enemies of Slavery. Some of the remarks of ern Europe and Asia; has already a prothe Era are quite impertinent, such as 'foreign lation equal to that of France and E being none such, and never having been. Besides, the Tribune is only to be treated in argument as an impersonal representative of certain opinions—as a journal, and not as a collection of individual utterances."

The National Era was not astonished that the Tribune "should not go for the Allies in Turkey, just as the Turks assumed a prob loss to understand why the Tribune should "go for" Russia. Why not state our position cor-

We are sorry that the allusion to the "fo eign writers" for the Tribune, should have pro voked such an ebullition of temper. Our in tention was simply to state a fact, which might throw some light on what appeared to us an anomaly. We remembered that that journal, a few weeks since, replying to a cotemporary, frankly informed the public concerning the composition of its editorship. " By way of illustrating this subject," it said "we will state, that the staff of editorial writers regularly employed by the Tribune consists of some twenty persons, and that the various articles [on European affairs, the War. &c .- Ed. Era. | which the Courier attributes to one, have proceeded from six different pens.' The Tribune having thus spoken unreservedly lude to its "foreign writers," who constitute ; portion of this "staff." We do not understand it to deny that much, perhaps the larger portion of its editorials on the Eastern war is pre pared by these gentlemen; but the point of the denial is, that they do "missionary work for Russia." Let the People judge between us. If the editorials we refer to are not adapt ed and intended to bring the Allies and their Cause into disrepute, and create a pro-Russian Public Sentiment, all the world is laboring under a prodigious mistake. But the Tribune. we mean that Impersonality which compre hends the entire phalanx of twenty editors as one and indivisible, leaves no room for doubt-for continuing its reply to our remarks,

"We are not oblivious of the Czar's attack or Hungary; neither are we of Louis Bonaparte's on Rome; and in that respect France is much more to be abhorred than Russia. As for the idea that the English oligarchic Government is impelled or ever was impelled to wage war by any other motive than selfishness, we consider it too preposterous for serious discussion. Russia, in her outward policy, is a more humanizing agent than Britain. English free trade is a blight to all that touches it; while, since Russia blight to all that touches it; while, since Russia has adopted the protective policy, her industrial means have improved to a wonderful degree, and her onward course of civilization is patent to the world. The best thing that could happen to Turkey would be, that Russia would swallow her up. Protected then in her manufactures, she would flourish. As for the danger to Eu-rope from Russian growth, we have already, on repeated occasions, shown how chimerical that notion is. Moreover, as far as the United States have an interest in the controversy at all, it is that France and England united should not at-tain a position to dictate to the world. We need Russia as a counterpoise to those Powers. Seen through the free trade spectacles of the Era, liberty and civilization may depend on the triumph of the Allies; to our judgment, however, they have quite as much to hope from the success of Russia. We trust that in any discussion of these points, which the Era may think proper to engage in, it will eschew useless personalities, and courteously address itself to the mat-

This is plain enough. The Tribune desires that Russia should triumph, and thinks that the best thing for Turkey would be that Russia should swallow her up.

We will not say that we are shocked that liberal American Journal should take such a position; for we have ceased, in this age of marvels and monstrosities, to be surprised at anything. Let us then glance at the reasons by which the Tribune seeks to vindicate it. 1. "Russia in her outward policy is a more humanizing agent than Britain.'

2 "England is for Free Trade;

tion to dictate to the world:" "We need

On the other hand, Britain, badly go as she was in past times, corrupt and free institutions, and in planting the sam

view to control the movements and ballots of thing to have the Allies humiliated, bec the People, to ask the Public to take him on English Free Trade is tending to break trust, as if he alone, of all men, were infallible all commercial restriction, and we should the triumph of Russia, because her prote system would shut us out from Turkey as as her own dominions! That is a queer

There is no danger to Europe, says the une, from Russian growth, but it is impoto us to have her as a counterpoise to Fnel and France, which may attain a positi ritory, wealth, and power, for the last sev five years; is recognised as the great wark against the spread of Liberal Opinio and the success of Revolutionary Mover and is now engaged in a war provoked b rate over the Greek Empire, before they proper to take actual possession of Const nople! No danger from the growth of a Po

er, whose career has been one continued

gression upon Europe!

The notion that England and France n attain a position to dictate to the world. itself "chimerical." No one who has read t histories of these countries, who comprehe the relations between them, who understa the public sentiment, the institutions, and d tinies of both, can imagine a permanent ance between them, to control the affairs the world. In the present crisis, they are o for a common danger, a common interest, them together. But let the war be termina by the defeat of Russia, and the imposit iust restraints upon her aggressive tender and they will be but too glad of an opportun for repairing damage, renewing their energ relieving themselves of exhausting burdens involve themselves in a bootless contest for supremacy of the world, which, even could the accomplish it, would serve only as an apple discord between them. There can be no je partners in the dictatorship of the world. mour could not bear to share the soverei of Asia with even a brother Mahometan. so he carried Bajazet captive in his triumpl march. Let the war be terminated, and E land would as soon think of cutting her or throat, as joining France in a crusade against the United States. Our position is such, the it must be the interest of both France England, especially the latter, always to mai tain amicable relations with us, and absta from any kind of dictation. This talk about danger from England and France we com

cordant with the character and position of the Tribune. We cherish no antipathies to any nation we are the partisans of none. We are not pro judiced against Russia, but her Government a Despotism, her Institutions are despotic; s is founded on Principles and upholds Doctr directly antagonistical to the Principles as Doctrines of this Republic. These facts ma not be deemed objectionable by the Slave Propaganda of this country, but they mus prevent all true Americans from sympath with it. On the other hand, whatever of Fr Institutions exists in the Old World, in such form as to be effective and command respecfinds its home in Old England. Democrat does not exist there as it does here, but it has root, and is growing; it is too strong to be pro scribed, potential enough to have secured Free Fress and the Principle of Popular Sui frage. As for any danger to be apprehend from her power, to harbor such a suspicion both absurd and unmanly: it implies gross is norance of the most manifest interests of bot countries, and a cowardly doubt of the power four own

understand, in General Cass, and his tribe

Alarmists, or the Washington Union, and i

gang of Propagandists, but it is utterly di

INSANITY.-We see it stated that there are now in the United States thirty-two insane hospitals, and that the number of insane persons in the country is estimated at 20,000. Supp sing our population to number twenty-six mil every thirteen hundred. If the quiet of agricultural and pastoral life were preferred by a larger number of persons, there would be greater abundance, more happiness, and less insani ty, in the country.

a triumph of the so-called "American Party."

Soon or late, the Anti-Nebraska or Anti-Slavery movement must rid itself of the encumbrance of Know Nothingism, and stand or fall brance of the most of the most of the most of the most of the section of the section